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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

FATHER HESBURGH
GOVERNOR BOWEN
ATTORNEY GENERAL LEVI
MEMBERS OF CONGRESS
FACULTY OF THE UNIVERSITY AND ST. MARY'S
COLLEGE
MEN AND WOMEN OF NOTRE DAME
LADIES AND GENTLEMEN

Att. Gen

Senators
Bayh
Harkin
Brundage

(ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS)

THIS HAS CERTAINLY BEEN AN EXCITING MORNING.

AS WE WERE GETTING OFF THE PLANE AT THE COUNTY AIRPORT,

A RATHER AMAZING THING HAPPENED. SOMEBODY ASKED ME

HOW TO GET TO THE ^{*Campus of the*} UNIVERSITY OF NOTRE DAME. WHAT

MADE IT SO AMAZING -- IT WAS FATHER HESBURGH!

THANK - Degree



I WANT TO THANK FATHER HESBURGH FOR ALL HE HAS
DONE TO MAKE US FEEL WELCOME TODAY -- AND IN PARTICULAR,
FOR GRANTING AMNESTY TO CLASSES THIS MORNING.

IT CERTAINLY IS A RARE OPPORTUNITY FOR ME --
TO BE AT NOTRE DAME, THE HOME OF THE FIGHTING IRISH, ON
OF ALL DAYS -- ST. PATRICK'S DAY, I'VE TRIED TO DRESS
APPROPRIATELY POINT TO GREEN TIE LET'S FACE IT,
THIS IS ONE DAY WE CAN ALL BE PART OF THE GREENING OF AMERICA!

AS YOUR NEXT DOOR NEIGHBOR FROM MICHIGAN,

I HAVE ALWAYS BEEN IMPRESSED BY THE OUTSTANDING RECORD

OF THE STUDENTS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF NOTRE DAME. YOU

HAVE ALWAYS BEEN LEADERS IN ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT, IN

SOCIAL CONCERNS, IN SPORTS PROWESS. AND NOW, ONCE

AGAIN YOU ARE BLAZING NEW PATHS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF

NEW CONCEPTS IN MASS TRANSPORTATION. SOME COMMUNITIES

HAVE THE MONORAIL - SOME HAVE THE SUBWAY -- NOTRE DAME

HAS THE QUICKIE!

THE FIGHTING IRISH OF NOTRE DAME HAVE BECOME A
SYMBOL OF THE TENACITY AND DETERMINATION OF THE AMERICAN
PEOPLE.

BUT NOTRE DAME BELIEVES NOT ONLY IN MIGHT ON THE
or the basketball court
FOOTBALL FIELD, BUT IN A SPIRITUAL RESPONSE TO HUMANITY'S
STRUGGLE FOR A DECENT LIFE.

I HAVE BEEN TOLD THAT MANY OF YOU CHOSE TO GO
WITHOUT A NORMAL DINNER, EATING ONLY A BOWL OF RICE,
TO SAVE MONEY TO HELP FEED THE WORLD'S HUNGRY. IT IS
HEART-WARMING TO KNOW THAT STUDENTS ARE CONCERNED ABOUT
OTHERS ABROAD AT A TIME WHEN MANY HERE AT HOME ARE FINDING
IT DIFFICULT TO AFFORD AN EDUCATION -- OR TO GET A JOB,
ALTHOUGH LIFE IS HARD FOR MANY AMERICANS, I AM PROUD
WE CONTINUE TO SHARE WITH OTHERS. THAT IS THE MEASURE
OF GENUINE COMPASSION.

AND I AM PROUD TO BE ON A CAMPUS THAT LOOKS
UP TO GOD AND OUT TO HUMANITY AT A TIME WHEN SOME ARE
TEMPTED TO TURN INWARD AND AWAY FROM THE PROBLEMS OF THE
WORLD.

NOTRE DAME'S GREAT SPOKESMAN, FATHER HESBURGH,

IS KNOWN IN WASHINGTON AS A NON-CONFORMIST. I MUST

ADMIT THAT I DO NOT SHARE ALL OF THE FATHER'S VIEWS. BUT

HE IS FOLLOWING ONE NON-CONFORMIST VIEWPOINT TO WHICH

I FULLY SUBSCRIBE: "BE NOT CONFORMED TO THIS WORLD:

BUT BE YE TRANSFORMED BY THE RENEWING OF YOUR MIND, THAT

YE MAY PROVE WHAT IS THAT GOOD, AND ACCEPTABLE, AND

PERFECT, WILL OF GOD."

TO CONFORM TO APATHY AND PESSIMISM IS TO

DROP OUT AND COP OUT. IN THAT SENSE, I REJECT CONFORMITY.

IN THAT SENSE, I AM A NON-CONFORMIST WHO CONTINUES TO BE

PROUD OF AMERICA'S PARTNERSHIP WITH OTHER NATIONS --

AND WHO MAKES NO APOLOGY FOR THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

AMERICAN GOODNESS AND AMERICAN GREATNESS SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES.

I BELIEVE IN THIS NATION AND IN OUR CAPACITY TO RESOLVE

OUR DIFFICULTIES AT HOME WITHOUT TURNING OUR BACK ON THE

REST OF THE WORLD.

LET ME SHARE MY OWN EXPERIENCE. I WAS ELECTED

TO THE CONGRESS IN THE AFTERMATH OF WORLD WAR TWO.

A NON-PARTISAN FOREIGN POLICY WAS EMERGING, AMERICA

REALIZED THAT POLITICS MUST STOP AT THE WATER'S EDGE. OUR

FATE WAS LINKED TO THE WELL-BEING OF OTHER FREE NATIONS.

WE BECAME THE FIRST NATION TO PROVIDE OTHERS WITH ECONOMIC

ASSISTANCE AS A NATIONAL POLICY. FOREIGN AID WAS AN

or project
AMERICAN INVENTION OF WHICH WE CAN BE JUSTIFIABLY PROUD.

TODAY, AS I LOOK BACK, I AM GRATEFUL FOR THE
OPPORTUNITY TO SERVE IN THE U.S. GOVERNMENT DURING THE
THIRD QUARTER OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. THESE PAST
TWENTY-FIVE YEARS, WHILE NOT PERFECT, WERE INCOMPARABLY
BETTER FOR HUMANITY THAN EITHER OF THE TWO PREVIOUS QUARTERS
OF THIS CENTURY.

THERE WAS NO WORLD WAR NOR GLOBAL DEPRESSION. MAJOR
NATIONS ACHIEVED DETENTE. MANY NEW NATIONS OBTAINED
INDEPENDENCE. THERE HAS BEEN AN EXPLOSION OF HOPE,
FREEDOM, AND HUMAN PROGRESS AT HOME AND ABROAD. AND
AMERICA'S ROLE, CONSIDERED IN FAIR CONTEXT, WAS A CATALYST
FOR CHANGE AND GROWTH.

THE MARSHALL PLAN, UNPRECEDENTED IN WORLD HISTORY,
RESTORED A WAR-RAVAGED EUROPE. EVEN EARLIER, U.S.

RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ACTIVITIES DURING WORLD WAR TWO
AND ASSISTANCE TO GREECE AND TURKEY AFTER THE WAR HAD PROVIDED
PRECEDENTS AND EXPERIENCE IN AMERICAN OVERSEAS ASSISTANCE.

IN THE SAME YEAR I CAME TO THE CONGRESS, 1949,
PRESIDENT TRUMAN ADVANCED "POINT IV," AN INNOVATIVE
CONCEPT PROVIDING TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE TO DEVELOPING COUNTRIES.
IT BROUGHT NEW AMERICAN IDEAS AND TECHNOLOGY TO PEOPLE
HITHERTO UNABLE TO BENEFIT FROM ADVANCES MADE IN HEALTH,
AGRICULTURE AND EDUCATION.

THE FOOD FOR PEACE ACT, DESIGNED TO USE AMERICA'S
AGRICULTURAL ABUNDANCE TO ASSIST OTHERS, WAS A PRODUCT
OF THE EISENHOWER ADMINISTRATION. ~~IT WAS ADOPTED IN~~
1954. IN THE LATE FIFTIES, WE CREATED THE DEVELOPMENT
LOAN PROGRAM TO HELP OTHERS HELP THEMSELVES.

IN 1961, THE CONGRESS ESTABLISHED THE AGENCY FOR
INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT TO CONSOLIDATE AND ADMINISTER
THE VARIOUS ACTIVITIES AND AGENCIES.

PROGRAMS TO HELP PEOPLE IN THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES
ARE AN EXPRESSION OF AMERICAN COMPASSION. BUT SUCH AID
ALSO IS PART OF THE CONTINUING EFFORT TO ACHIEVE AN ENDURING
STRUCTURE OF WORLD PEACE.

IT IS NO LONGER A QUESTION OF JUST THE "THIRD WORLD."

I AM DEEPLY CONCERNED BY THE PROBLEMS OF THE

"FOURTH WORLD" -- THE VERY POOREST NATIONS -- WHERE:

-- FROM ⁴⁰⁰ FOUR HUNDRED MILLION TO ⁸⁰⁰ EIGHT HUNDRED

MILLION PEOPLE SUFFER FROM MALNUTRITION.

-- AVERAGE PER CAPITA INCOME IS UNDER

275

TWO HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-FIVE DOLLARS PER YEAR.

-- LIFE EXPECTANCY IS TWENTY YEARS LESS THAN

20

IN THE DEVELOPED COUNTRIES.

40%

-- MORE THAN FORTY PERCENT OF THE CHILDREN

WILL NEVER REACH THE AGE OF FIVE.

-- MORE THAN HALF THE POPULATION HAS NEVER

BEEN TO SCHOOL.

DESPITE THESE PROBLEMS, THE ECONOMIES OF

DEVELOPING COUNTRIES HAVE GROWN AT AN ENCOURAGING RATE IN
THE PAST TEN YEARS, THANKS IN PART TO ^{substantial} AMERICAN ASSISTANCE.

MANUFACTURING OUTPUT INCREASED ONE HUNDRED PERCENT.

FOOD PRODUCTION ROSE BY OVER ONE-THIRD. ENROLLMENT

IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS DOUBLED. ENROLLMENT IN SECONDARY

SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES QUADRUPLED.

BUT POPULATION GROWTH AND INCREASED DEMAND

COLLIDED WITH INFLATION AND ENERGY SHORTAGES.

GAINS

in many instances

HAVE BEEN WIPED OUT.

AT THE VERY TIME WHEN OUR POLICY

SEEKS TO BUILD PEACE WITH NATIONS OF DIFFERENT PHILOSOPHIES,

THERE REMAINS TOO MUCH VIOLENCE AND TOO MANY THREATS TO PEACE.

THE CONGRESS DEFINED THE ROLE OF FOREIGN AID

THIS WAY: "THE FREEDOM, SECURITY, AND PROSPERITY OF

THE UNITED STATES ARE BEST SUSTAINED IN A COMMUNITY OF

FREE, SECURE AND PROSPERING NATIONS. IGNORANCE,

WANT AND DESPAIR BREED THE EXTREMISM AND VIOLENCE WHICH

LEAD TO AGGRESSION AND SUBVERSION."

IF NATIONS ARE TO DEVELOP WITHIN THIS DEFINITION,

THEY MUST BE ABLE TO DEFEND THEMSELVES. THEY MUST HAVE

ASSURANCE THAT AMERICA CAN BE COUNTED UPON TO PROVIDE

of their own

THE MEANS OF SECURITY AS WELL AS THE MEANS OF SUSTENANCE.

~~_____~~ #

~~I AM CONVINCED THAT~~ PEOPLE WITH AN AFFIRMATIVE VISION OF
THE FUTURE WILL NOT RESORT TO VIOLENCE. WHILE WE PURSUE
A PEACEFUL WORLD IN WHICH THERE IS UNITY IN DIVERSITY, WE
MUST CONTINUE TO SUPPORT SECURITY AGAINST AGGRESSION AND
SUBVERSION. TO DO OTHERWISE, WOULD INVITE GREATER VIOLENCE.

THE UNITED STATES CANNOT AVOID PARTNERSHIP

WITH NATIONS TRYING TO IMPROVE THE KIND OF WORLD THE CHILDREN

OF TODAY WILL FACE TOMORROW. RECENT EVENTS HAVE

DEMONSTRATED THE INTERDEPENDENCE OF ALL PEOPLE WHO LIVE

ON THIS PLANET.

THE 1973 WAR IN THE MIDDLE EAST SHOWED THAT WAR
CONFINED TO A LIMITED REGION NEVERTHELESS HAS AN ECONOMIC
IMPACT NOT ONLY IN SOUTH BEND BUT IN EVERY CORNER OF THE
WORLD. DEVELOPING AND DEVELOPED COUNTRIES ARE ALL
PART OF A SINGLE INTERDEPENDENT ECONOMIC SYSTEM.

THIS AUDIENCE INCLUDES ^{many} STUDENTS FROM OVER SIXTY
^

FOREIGN COUNTRIES. LET THIS DEMONSTRATE TO ALL AMERICANS

THAT OTHER PEOPLE PLACE A HIGH VALUATION ON WHAT AMERICA

HAS TO OFFER. LET IT DEMONSTRATE THAT THE UNIVERSITY

OF NOTRE DAME REJECTS THE NEW ISOLATIONISM.

?

in Oct. 1974

*let me share
with you a specific problem.*

WHEN THE WORLD FOOD CONFERENCE MET IN ROME,

I WAS FACED WITH A PERPLEXING PROBLEM. FOOD PRICES

IN AMERICA WERE OVER ONE-FIFTH HIGHER THAN IN THE PREVIOUS

YEAR. FOOD RESERVES WERE DWINDLING. THE CORN CROP

AND OTHER CROPS WERE DISAPPOINTING. THERE WERE CONCERNS

ABOUT HUNGER AMONG OUR OWN PEOPLE.



AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND, I WAS PRESENTED WITH
SEVERAL ALTERNATIVE ESTIMATES ON HOW MUCH WE SHOULD SPEND
FOR FOOD FOR PEACE. AT THE ROME CONFERENCE, AMERICAN
SPOKESMEN PLEDGED THAT WE WOULD TRY TO INCREASE OUR FOOD
CONTRIBUTION DESPITE OUR OWN CROP PROBLEMS.

AS CROP REPORTS IMPROVED, I DESIGNATED A SUM EVEN HIGHER
THAN THE HIGHEST OPTION RECOMMENDED TO ME AT THE TIME OF THE
CONFERENCE. A FACTOR IN MY DECISION WAS YOUR OWN
FATHER HESBURGH, WHOSE STRONG SUPPORT OF THE EXPANDED
PROGRAM PROVIDED A REMINDER OF AMERICA'S MORAL COMMITMENT.

FOOD FOR PEACE WAS INCREASED FROM ABOUT
\$ 980 # 1.6
NINE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY MILLION DOLLARS TO ONE POINT SIX
BILLION DOLLARS. THIS WILL PROVIDE ABOUT FIVE POINT
FIVE MILLION TONS OF COMMODITIES, UP FROM THREE POINT THREE
MILLION TONS LAST YEAR. MOST OF THE COMMODITIES
WILL BE WHEAT AND RICE. ALSO DESPERATELY REQUIRED --
AND ALSO INCREASED -- ARE BLENDED FOODS USED IN NUTRITIONAL
PROGRAMS FOR MOTHERS AND INFANTS.

THE UNITED STATES IS NO LONGER THE ONLY COUNTRY

AIDING OTHERS. BUT WE CONTINUE TO LEAD IN PROVIDING

FOOD ASSISTANCE. ²⁰ IN TWENTY YEARS OF FOOD FOR PEACE,

WE SHIPPED OVER TWO HUNDRED AND FORTY-FIVE MILLION TONS OF

WHEAT, RICE AND OTHER GRAINS VALUED AT ²⁴⁵ TWENTY-THREE BILLION

DOLLARS. ~~I AM VERY PROUD OF THAT RECORD. AND SO~~

~~SHOULD~~ EVERY AMERICAN ^{should} BE PROUD ₁ *of that record.*

WHILE FOOD HELPS, ONLY BY TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

CAN EMERGING NATIONS MEET THEIR OWN NEEDS. IT HAS BEEN

SAID THAT IF A HUNGRY MAN IS GIVEN A FISH, HE CAN EAT

FOR ONE DAY. BUT IF HE IS TAUGHT TO FISH, HE CAN EAT

EVERY DAY.

THE GREATEST OPPORTUNITY LIES IN EXPANDING
PRODUCTION IN AREAS WHERE THIS PRODUCTION WILL BE CONSUMED.
THE WORLD IS FARMING ONLY ABOUT HALF THE POTENTIAL CROP-LAND.
YET THERE ARE INSUFFICIENT FARMER INCENTIVES IN MANY COUNTRIES,
SHORTAGES OF FERTILIZER, HIGH FUEL COSTS, AND INADEQUATE
STORAGE AND DISTRIBUTION SYSTEMS.

THE ANSWERS TO THE WORLD FOOD PROBLEM ARE TO BE
FOUND IN INTERDEPENDENCE. WE CAN AND WILL HELP OTHER
NATIONS. BUT SIMPLISTIC PATERNALISM MAY DO MORE HARM
THAN GOOD. OUR HELP MUST TAKE THE FORM OF HELPING EVERY
NATION TO HELP ITSELF.

I AM PARTICULARLY CONCERNED ABOUT THE PROBLEM

OF FAIR DISTRIBUTION. AMERICA BELIEVES IN EQUALITY OF

OPPORTUNITY. THIS NATION PROVIDES A SHOWCASE OF

CHANGE IN PROVIDING BETTER NUTRITION, EDUCATION, HEALTH

CARE TO MORE AND MORE PEOPLE -- INCLUDING THOSE WHO CAN

LEAST AFFORD IT.

SOME NATIONS HAVE MADE EXCELLENT USE OF OUR ASSISTANCE
TO DEVELOP THEIR OWN CAPACITIES. OTHER GOVERNMENTS
ARE STILL STRUGGLING WITH THE ISSUE OF EQUALITY OF
OPPORTUNITY AND FAIR DISTRIBUTION OF LIFE'S NECESSITIES.

GOOD WORLD CITIZENSHIP REQUIRES MORE THAN

MORALIZING ABOUT THE ROLE OTHERS SHOULD TAKE. IT REQUIRES

EACH NATION TO PUT ITS OWN HOUSE IN ORDER. GOOD

AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP REQUIRES MORE THAN MORALIZATION ABOUT

WHAT IS WRONG WITH THE UNITED STATES.

IT REQUIRES PERSONAL INVOLVEMENT AND ACTION TO BRING
ABOUT CHANGE. IT REQUIRES VOTING -- AND ORGANIZING --
AND CHALLENGING -- AND CHANGING -- WITHIN THE FLEXIBLE
AND DYNAMIC AMERICAN POLITICAL PROCESS. OUR SYSTEM

WORKS.

THE DEVELOPING NATIONS OF THE WORLD ARE
INCREASINGLY SUCCESSFUL IN BRINGING PROSPERITY TO LARGER
NUMBERS OF THEIR OWN PEOPLE. IN FACT, THE ASSISTANCE
WE HAVE PROVIDED THESE NATIONS IS NOT JUST A ONE-WAY STREET.
THIRTY PERCENT OF U.S. EXPORTS ARE PURCHASED BY THESE
DEVELOPING NATIONS -- THEREBY CONTRIBUTING TO A BETTER LIFE
FOR THEIR PEOPLE AND JOBS FOR OURS.

IN CASES WHERE COUNTRIES HAVE THE MEANS, LET THEM JOIN
IN SHARING WITH OTHERS. SOME HAVE HELPED. OTHERS
HAVE NOT. WE LED THE WAY AND WE WILL NOT SHIRK FROM
FUTURE BURDENS. BUT ALL NATIONS MUST COOPERATE IN
DEVELOPING THE WORLD'S RESOURCES. WE EXTEND THE HAND
OF PARTNERSHIP AND FRIENDSHIP. *to make a Better World.*

ANOTHER CHALLENGE FACING THE DEVELOPING NATIONS

-- AS WELL AS OTHER NATIONS -- IS TO REALIZE THE NEED FOR

PEACEFUL ACCOMMODATION WITH NEIGHBORS. AN INTERDEPENDENT

WORLD CANNOT SOLVE DISPUTES BY THREATS OR FORCE. PEOPLE

now & in the future

DEPEND ON EACH OTHER MORE THAN THEY REALIZE.

1

in answer

FOR EXAMPLE, WE IMPORT BETWEEN FIFTY AND ONE HUNDRED

PERCENT OF SUCH ESSENTIAL MINERALS AS COBALT, BAUXITE,

NICKEL, MANGANESE, AND OTHERS.

THE CHALLENGE, AS I SEE IT, IS FOR AMERICA
AND ALL OTHER NATIONS TO TAKE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THEMSELVES
WHILE BUILDING COOPERATION WITH EACH OTHER. AND THE
CHALLENGE IS ALSO THE PRESERVATION OF THE FREEDOM AND
DIGNITY OF THE HUMAN INDIVIDUAL THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

JUST AS THE WORLD'S NATIONS CAN NO LONGER "GO

IT ALONE," NEITHER CAN THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. WOODROW

WILSON SAID THAT "WHAT WE SHOULD SEEK TO IMPART IN OUR

COLLEGES IS NOT SO MUCH LEARNING ITSELF AS THE SPIRIT OF LEARNING."

GREAT UNIVERSITIES THAT PURSUE TRUTH FACE THE CHALLENGE THAT

CONFRONTS THE ENTIRE AMERICAN PEOPLE: IT IS WHETHER WE WILL

LEARN NOTHING FROM THE PAST AND RETURN TO THE INTROVERSION

OF THE 1930'S, TO THE DANGEROUS NOTION THAT OUR FATE IS

UNRELATED TO THE FATE OF OTHERS.

I AM CONVINCED THAT AMERICANS, HOWEVER TEMPTED
TO RESIGN FROM THE WORLD, KNOW THAT IT CANNOT BE DONE.
THE SPIRIT OF LEARNING IS TOO DEEPLY INGRAINED. WE KNOW
THAT WHEREVER THE BELL TOLLS FOR FREEDOM, IT TOLLS FOR US.

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE RESPONDED BY SUPPLYING

HELP TO NEEDY NATIONS.

both government & those voluntary agencies
PROGRAMS¹ COULD NOT HAVE BEEN AND

CANNOT BE ENACTED WITHOUT POPULAR SUPPORT.

~~MANY VOLUNTARY~~

~~AGENCIES SUPPLEMENT GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS.~~

CARE AND CATHOLIC RELIEF SERVICES, PIONEERS IN FOOD FOR PEACE PROGRAMS, ARE FEEDING OVER TWENTY-EIGHT MILLION PEOPLE AROUND THE WORLD. PROTESTANT, JEWISH, AND OTHER GROUPS ARE SIMILARLY INVOLVED.

AT UNIVERSITIES THROUGHOUT THE NATION, RESEARCHERS
SEEK ANSWERS TO WORLD PROBLEMS. RIGHT HERE IN INDIANA, AT
PURDUE UNIVERSITY, SCIENTISTS HAVE MADE DISCOVERIES IN HIGH-
PROTEIN ASPECTS OF SORGHUM, A BASIC FOOD OF MORE THAN
THREE HUNDRED MILLION PEOPLE IN ASIA AND AFRICA.

NOT ONLY THE SCIENTISTS AT PURDUE, BUT PEOPLE
THROUGHOUT AMERICA, REALIZE THAT NO STRUCTURE OF WORLD
PEACE CAN ENDURE UNLESS THE POVERTY QUESTION IS ANSWERED.
THERE IS NO SAFETY FOR ANY NATION IN A HUNGRY, ILL-EDUCATED
AND DESPERATE WORLD.

IN A TIME OF RECESSION, INFLATION AND UNEMPLOYMENT

AT HOME, IT IS ARGUED THAT WE CAN NO LONGER AFFORD FOREIGN

ASSISTANCE. *To the contrary* THERE ARE TWO BASIC ARGUMENTS ~~OTHERWISE~~:

FIRST ~~/~~ FOREIGN AID IS PART OF THE PRICE WE MUST

PAY TO ACHIEVE THE KIND OF WORLD WE WANT TO LIVE IN. LET'S

BE FRANK ABOUT IT: FOREIGN AID BOLSTERS OUR DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS

FOR PEACE AND SECURITY.

SECOND / EVEN WITH RECESSION WE REMAIN THE

WORLD'S MOST AFFLUENT COUNTRY. AND THE SHARING OF OUR

RESOURCES IS THE RIGHT, HUMANE, AND DECENT THING TO DO.

JUST AS WE SEEK TO BUILD BRIDGES TO OTHER NATIONS,

WE MUST UNITE AT HOME. THIS ADMINISTRATION WANTS BETTER

COMMUNICATION WITH THE ACADEMIC WORLD -- NOT JUST IN SEARCH

OF NEW TECHNOLOGY BUT FOR THE HUMAN AND SPIRITUAL QUALITIES

THAT ENRICH AMERICAN LIFE.

IN THE FUTURE, FEWER PEOPLE MUST PRODUCE MORE.

WE MUST, THEREFORE, UNLEASH INTELLECTUAL CAPACITIES TO
ANTICIPATE AND SOLVE OUR PROBLEMS; THE ACADEMIC WORLD
MUST JOIN IN THE REVIVAL OF FUNDAMENTAL AMERICAN VALUES.
LET US BUILD A NEW SENSE OF PRIDE IN BEING AN AMERICAN.

YOU CAN MAKE AMERICA WHAT YOU WANT IT TO BE.

(Note to the President: Concluding remarks are to come from Bob Hartmann per his discussion with you.)

YOU CAN MAKE AMERICA WHAT YOU WANT IT TO BE.

THINK ABOUT THAT FOR A MINUTE. IS IT REALLY TRUE?

YES, IT IS -- BUT THERE IS A CATCH TO IT. YOU WILL

NEVER SEE IT COME TRUE; PERHAPS YOUR CHILDREN OR YOUR

GRANCHILDREN WILL. WHAT YOU CAN DO IS MOVE AMERICA

SLOWLY BUT SURELY ALONG IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION.

TODAY'S AMERICA IS FAR FROM PERFECT. BUT IT IS
MUCH CLOSER TO THE AMERICA THAT MY CLASS OF 1935 WANTED
THAN IT WAS WHEN I LEFT THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN.

TODAY'S AMERICA IS A BETTER PLACE BY FAR THAN IT
WAS FORTY YEARS AGO, WHEN THE LINGERING SHADOWS OF
WORLDWIDE DEPRESSION WERE BEING BLOTTED OUT BY THE DARKER
CLOUDS OF WORLDWIDE WAR.

MY GENERATION DID NOT WHOLLY SAVE THE WORLD. BUT
WE DID HELP MOVE IT ALONG IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION. WE
LEARNED ALONG THE WAY THAT WE ARE PART OF ONE WORLD.

THE AUTHOR OF THAT PHRASE WAS A HOOSIER, THE FIRST
POLITICAL CANDIDATE ABOUT WHOM I GOT PERSONALLY INVOLVED
ENOUGH TO VOLUNTEER AS A CAMPAIGN WORKER. HIS NAME
WAS ^{WENDELL} WENDELL WILKIE.

WENDELL WILKIE OF INDIANA NEVER WAS PRESIDENT.

BUT HE WAS RIGHT. HE FOUGHT FOR WHAT HE BELIEVED AGAINST
ALMOST IMPOSSIBLE ODDS, IN THE LAST PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN
BEFORE PEARL HARBOR.

HE BELIEVED MOST DEEPLY -- TOO FAR AHEAD OF HIS TIME
-- THAT AMERICA MUST BE PART OF ONE WORLD. HE LOST THE
1940 ELECTION. BUT HE HELPED UNITE AMERICANS IN SUPPORT
OF THE TRUTH WHICH HAS BEEN OUR NONPARTISAN NATIONAL POLICY
SINCE THE SECOND WORLD WAR. AND THERE HAS BEEN NO
THIRD WORLD WAR.

ON THE CONTRARY, THE PROSPECTS FOR LONG-RANGE PEACE
HAVE SLOWLY BUT SURELY IMPROVED DESPITE MANY SETBACKS
AND CURRENT INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS. THE STANDARDS OF
HUMAN LIFE HAVE BEEN LIFTED ALMOST EVERYWHERE.

YET, TODAY, WE HEAR ANOTHER THEME: THAT THE TIDE
OF HISTORY IS RUNNING AGAINST US; THAT AMERICA'S EXAMPLE
AND AMERICAN LEADERSHIP ARE NEITHER NEEDED NOR HEEDED ANY
MORE; THAT WE SHOULD TAKE CARE OF OURSELVES AND LET THE
REST OF MANKIND DO LIKEWISE; THAT OUR DOMESTIC DIFFICULTIES
DICTATE A SPLENDID SELFISHNESS THAT RUNS COUNTER TO ALL OUR
RELIGIOUS ROOTS AS WELL AS TO ALL RECENT EXPERIENCE. WE
ARE COUNSELED TO WITHDRAW FROM ONE WORLD AND GO IT ALONE.

I HAVE HEARD THAT SONG BEFORE. AND I AM HERE TO

SAY I AM NOT GOING TO DANCE TO IT. NOR DO I BELIEVE

THIS GENERATION OF YOUNG AMERICANS WILL DESERT THEIR IDEALS

FOR A BETTER NATION AND A BETTER WORLD. YOU CAN -- AND

YOU WILL -- HELP TO MOVE AMERICA ALONG IN THE RIGHT

DIRECTION; HOPEFULLY, YOU CAN DO A BETTER JOB THAN THE

CLASS OF 1935 HAS DONE.

BUT WHILE THE CLASSES OF '75 AND '35 ARE STILL AROUND,
WE HAVE MUCH TO LEARN FROM EACH OTHER. WE CAN RENEW
THE OLD AMERICAN COMPACT OF RESPECT FOR THE CONVICTIONS OF
OTHERS AND FAITH IN THE DECENCY OF OTHERS; WE CAN WORK TO
BANISH WAR AND WANT WHEREVER THEY EXIST; WE CAN EXALT THE
SPIRIT OF SERVICE AND LOVE THAT ST. PATRICK EXEMPLIFIED IN
HIS DAY.

I AM NOT ALARMED WHEN I HEAR WARNINGS THAT THE TIDE
OF HISTORY IS RUNNING AGAINST US; I DON'T BELIEVE IT FOR
A MINUTE -- BECAUSE I KNOW WHERE THE TIDE OF HISTORY REALLY
IS -- ON THIS CAMPUS, AND ON THOUSANDS OF OTHERS, AND
WHEREVER YOUNG MEN AND WOMEN ARE PREPARING THEMSELVES
TO SERVE GOD AND THEIR COUNTRIES AND TO BUILD A BETTER WORLD.

YOU ARE PART OF THE TIDE OF HISTORY. AND YOU WILL

MAKE IT RUN STRONG AND TRUE. OF THAT I'M SURE.

THANK YOU -- AND THE TOP OF THE MORNIN' TO YOU.

END OF TEXT

CLEARANCE FORM FOR PRESIDENTIAL SPEECH MATERIAL

TO: THE PRESIDENT
VIA: ROBERT HARTMANN
FROM: PAUL A. THEIS
SUBJECT: University of Notre Dame

TIME, DATE AND PLACE OF PRESIDENTIAL USE: 11:00 a.m.

March 17, 1975, University of Notre Dame, South Bend, Ind.

SPEECHWRITER: Friedman/ Orben

EDITED BY: Theis

BASIC RESEARCH/SPEECH MATERIAL SUPPLIED BY:
University of Notre Dame and Research

CLEARED BY (Please initial):

- (X) OPERATIONS (Rumsfeld) RBC by phone
- (X) CONGRESSIONAL/PUBLIC LIAISON (Marsh) Jm
- (X) PRESS (Nessen) L.S.
- () LEGAL (Buchen) _____
- (X) ECONOMIC POLICY BOARD (Seidman) LWS
- (X) OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET (Lynn) Frey, Hill
- (X) DOMESTIC COUNCIL (Cannon) Cavanaugh
- (X) NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL (Scowcroft) BS
- (X) RESEARCH (Waldron) AW
- (X) JERRY WARREN (FYI) _____
- (X) Robert Goldwin RGW
- () _____